

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 10763

EXDIS

USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS
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SUBJECT: DISCUSSION AT QUADRIpartite AMBASSADORIAL
LUNCHEON JUNE 27

REF: (A) BONN 10411 (EXDIS); (B) USMISSION BERLIN
1694 (EXDIS); (C) BONN 10485; (D) PARIS 18415

BEGIN SUMMARY. THE AMBASSADORIAL LUNCHEON JUNE 27
WAS HOSTED BY STATE SECRETARY VAN WELL. LATTER FELT
SOVIET ATTITUDE ON BERLIN HAS IMPROVED RECENTLY AND THAT
SOVIETS DO NOT SEEK CONFRONTATION THERE. VAN WELL
THOUGHT INNER-GERMAN TALKS WOULD BEGIN SOON. HE
STRESSED STRONG FRG INTEREST IN OBTAINING SATISFACTORY
CLAUSE COVERING BERLIN IN EC-SOVIET FISHERIES NEGOTIA-
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TIONS AND INDICATED FRG WOULD BE PREPARED SEE NEGOTIA-
TIONS FAIL OVER THIS ISSUE. UK AMBASSADOR'S REACTION
WAS POINTEDLY RESERVED. SPECIFICS ON ITEMS OF INTEREST
DISCUSSED AT LUNCHEON FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

1. BERLIN. VAN WELL COMMENTED ON THE LANGUAGE CON-
CERNING BERLIN INCLUDED IN THE FRENCH-SOVIET DECLARATION

ON BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO PARIS (REF D), NOTING THAT FORMULATION OF "STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT -- THE FORMULATION AGREED UPON BY BRANDT AND BREZHNEV IN 1973 -- HAD BEEN REITERATED IN THE FRG-SOVIET STATEMENT FOLLOWING FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, BUT THAT THE RELEVANT PARAGRAPH IN THE FRENCH-SOVIET DECLARATION HAD GONE FURTHER WITH THE ADDITION OF WORDING TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS CONSTITUTED A GUARANTEE OF STABILITY AND WAS A FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENT IN MAINTAINING DETENTE IN EUROPE. VAN WELL THOUGHT THAT SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT LATTER PHRASING WAS SIGNIFICANT AND REPRESENTED STEP FORWARD. (COMMENT: ALTHOUGH NOT MENTIONED AT THE LUNCHEON, IT IS STRIKING THAT THE SOVIETS ACCEPTED WORDING IN THE FRANCO-SOVIET DECLARATION VERY SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE MAY 9 LONDON DECLARATION, IN WHICH THE FOUR HEADS OF GOVERNMENT CALLED STRICT OBSERVANCE AND FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF THE QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT "ESSENTIAL TO THE STRENGTHENING OF DETENTE, THE MAINTENANCE OF SECURITY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION THROUGHOUT EUROPE.") RECALLING GOOD ATMOSPHERE WHICH HAD CHARACTERIZED GENSCHER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AS WELL AS SEPARATE VISIT OF MINISTER OF STATE VON DOHNANYI, VAN WELL CONCLUDED THAT SOVIET ATTITUDE TOWARD WESTERN EUROPE, AND IN PARTICULAR TOWARD BERLIN, SEEMS MORE FORTHCOMING THAN CONFIDENTIAL

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IT HAS BEEN IN RECENT PAST. HE FELT THAT IT IS BECOMING CLEARER THAT THE SOVIETS DO NOT WANT A CRISIS OR CONFRONTATION CONCERNING BERLIN AND THAT BERLIN IS ON BACK BURNER FOR SOVIETS AT PRESENT.

2. VAN WELL RECALLED THAT GDR ACTIONS LAST WINTER AFFECTING STATUS OF EAST BERLIN AND SOVIET APPROACHES CONCERNING ALLIED FLAG PATROLS HAD SEEMED TO INDICATE A TOUGHER SOVIET STANCE OR, AT LEAST, A SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEDE TO GDR PRESSURES. PRESENTLY, HOWEVER, THE SITUATION SEEMS TO HAVE CHANGED FOR BETTER. GDR PRESSURES EITHER HAVE LESSENED OR THE SOVIETS ARE MORE INCLINED TO RESIST THEM. IN ANY CASE, FRG FEELS THAT A SIGNAL HAS BEEN GIVEN FROM MOSCOW THAT IT WANTS QUIET AND STABILITY WITH REGARD TO BERLIN. VAN WELL SPECULATED THAT SOVIETS MAY BE MOTIVATED BY DESIRE TO AVOID ANY CRISIS WHILE BELGRADE CONFERENCE IS UNDERWAY; ALSO, SOVIET ATTITUDE COULD BE RELATED TO WORSENING OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS AND A CONCOMITANT DESIRE TO AVOID EXACERBATION OF RELATIONS WITH WESTERN EUROPE OR A FLARE-UP OVER BERLIN.

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3. ALL PARTICIPANTS NOTED ABSENCE OF ANY GDR INTER-
FERENCE JUNE 16 WITH TRANSIT OF PARTICIPANTS PROCEEDING
TO BERLIN FOR CDU RALLY. THERE ALSO APPEARED TO BE
LET-UP IN SOVIET PRESSURES CONCERNING FLAG PATROLS IN
EAST BERLIN. UK AMBASSADOR REMARKED THAT, FOR FIRST
TIME IN MANY MONTHS, BONN GROUP WAS NOT CONSIDERING HOW
TO RESPOND TO A SOVIET PROTEST. UK AMBASSADOR SAID HE
WOULD BE HOSTING SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO GDR ABRASIMOV
FOR LUNCH IN BERLIN JULY 19, AT WHICH TIME FURTHER
INDICATIONS MIGHT BE FORTHCOMING OF SOVIET ATTITUDES,
ESPECIALLY ON QUESTION OF PATROLS. THERE WAS GENERAL
AGREEMENT WITH MY COMMENT THAT, DESPITE ABSENCE OF
CURRENT PRESSURES, IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO PUSH AHEAD
IN BONN GROUP TO COMPLETE CONTINGENCY PLANNING ON
PATROL ISSUE.

4. VAN WELL REPEATED FOR GROUP ACCOUNT HE HAD GIVEN ME
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EARLIER (REF A) CONCERNING BREZHNEV'S STATEMENTS TO GENSCHER THAT SOVIET UNION WOULD NOT WITHDRAW FROM QUADRIpartite AGREEMENT AND ADVISING AGAINST ANY DISCUSSION OF NEW AGREEMENT ON BERLIN. VAN WELL WAS QUITE CLEAR THAT THIS INDEED WAS THRUST OF BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS AND THAT HE HAD NOT REPEAT NOT HINTED AT POSSIBLE DESIRABILITY OF NEW ARRANGEMENTS FOR BERLIN, AS SUGGESTED BY VERSION OF BREZHNEV'S COMMENTS GIVEN TO ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES IN BERLIN BY SPANGENBERG (REF B).

5. WITH REGARD TO INNER-GERMAN TALKS, VAN WELL SAID THAT FRG HAS COMPLETED ITS PREPARATIONS AND WISCHNEWSKI'S APPROACH TO GDR REPRESENTATIVE KOHL ONLY AWAITS FINAL GO-AHEAD BY CHANCELLOR. VAN WELL THOUGHT THIS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN NEAR FUTURE AND THAT IT HAD BEEN DELAYED DUE TO VARIOUS DIFFICULTIES IN FRG-GDR RELATIONS IN RECENT MONTHS AND CHANCELLOR'S OWN POLITICAL PRE-OCCUPATIONS IN BUNDESTAG IN LAST FEW DAYS. VAN WELL SAID FRG HAS REASON TO BELIEVE THAT GDR HAS POSITIVE INTEREST IN TALKS AND WANTS TO SEE PROGRESS MADE. HE THOUGHT THIS ATTITUDE REFLECTED GDR'S RECOGNITION OF IMPROVED ATMOSPHERE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN FRG ON ONE HAND AND SOVIET UNION, POLAND AND HUNGARY ON THE OTHER. SINCE GDR WOULD NOT WISH TO BE LEFT OUT IN THIS DEVELOPMENT, VAN WELL BELIEVES GDR WILL WISH TO MOVE AHEAD. HE NOTED THAT A PRIMARY CONCERN OF GDR SEEMS TO BE THAT TALKS NOT BE DRAMATIZED AND THAT THERE BE LESS DISCUSSION IN PUBLIC OF FORTHCOMING NEGOTIATIONS.

6. UK AMBASSADOR QUERIED VAN WELL ON PROSPECTS FOR ACTION CONCERNING PRESIDENT SCHEEL'S INITIATIVE IN ADVOCATING GREATER DEGREE OF UNITY IN POLICY TOWARD BERLIN ON PART OF GOVERNMENT COALITION AND OPPOSITION. CONFIDENTIAL

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IN THIS REGARD, HE NOTED THAT CDU LEADER KOHL, IN TV REMARKS JUNE 26 CONCERNING RECENTLY CONCLUDED BUNDESTAG SESSION, HAD HIGHLIGHTED BERLIN AS ONE AREA WHERE VIEWS OF COALITION AND OF OPPOSITION GENERALLY COINCIDED. VAN WELL SAID HE BELIEVED THERE WAS INCREASING TENDENCY IN CDU (BUT NOT REPEAT NOT IN CSU) TO REDUCE AREA OF CONTENTION OVER BERLIN. THIS, OF COURSE, RELATED TO OVERALL AIMS OF ASSISTING WEST BERLIN TO MAINTAIN ECONOMIC VIABILITY AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS BUT DID NOT INCLUDE AGREEMENT ON TACTICS TO BE USED VIS-A-VIS SOVIETS OR IN CONNECTION WITH SPECIFIC POINTS (SUCH AS GERMAN NATIONAL FOUNDATION) REGARDING BERLIN.

7. EC-SOVIET FISHERIES NEGOTIATIONS. VAN WELL INTRODUCED THIS SUBJECT AND CONSIDERABLE TIME WAS GIVEN TO IT DURING LUNCHEON. VAN WELL EMPHASIZED POLITICAL NECESSITY FROM STANDPOINT OF FRG TO HAVE SATISFACTORY TERRITORIAL CLAUSE IN FISHERIES AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD COVER INCLUSION OF BERLIN (ALTHOUGH WITHOUT SPECIFIC MENTION OF BERLIN). HE SAID NO FRG POLITICIAN COULD SUPPORT A FISHERIES AGREEMENT WITHOUT SUCH A CLAUSE AND THAT FRG WOULD PREFER NO AGREEMENT TO AN AGREEMENT WITHOUT A TERRITORIAL CLAUSE COVERING BERLIN. HE NOTED URGENCY OF MATTER, SINCE NEGOTIATIONS WILL RESUME IN BRUSSELS JUNE 29, AND SAID THAT SOVIET DELEGATION, WHICH WOULD BE HEADED BY MINISTER OF FISHERIES ISHKOV, PRESUMABLY WOULD BE COMPETENT TO NEGOTIATE ON QUESTIONS OF POLITICAL IMPORTANCE, SUCH AS TERRITORIAL CLAUSE. ACCORDING TO VAN WELL, FRG BELIEVES IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO LEAVE TERRITORIAL CLAUSE PROBLEM AS LAST ITEM IN NEGOTIATIONS AND WOULD PREFER TO KEEP OTHER QUESTIONS OPEN (FISHING QUOTAS AND DEFINITION OF NEGOTIATING

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PARTNERS) SO THAT THEY COULD BE CONSIDERED TOGETHER WITH TERRITORIAL CLAUSE QUESTION. STRATEGY WOULD BE TO FORCE SOVIETS TO COME FORWARD AND TAKE A STAND ON

TERRITORIAL QUESTION BEFORE RESOLVING OTHER MATTERS.

8. VAN WELL EXPRESSED SOME OPTIMISM THAT SOVIETS EVENTUALLY WOULD ACCEPT SATISFACTORY TERRITORIAL CLAUSE SINCE THEY WANT FISHERIES AGREEMENT AND, OVERALL, WISH TO HAVE GOOD LONG-TERM RELATIONS WITH COMMUNITY. MORE-OVER, ALTHOUGH SOVIETS HAVE BEEN PRESENTED WITH TEXT OF TERRITORIAL CLAUSE, THEIR REACTION HAS BEEN QUIET AND THERE HAS BEEN NO BLOW-UP. VAN WELL EMPHASIZED THAT TERRITORIAL QUESTION WAS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO FRG, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT WOULD SET PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE AGREEMENTS. HE ASKED UK AMBASSADOR AND FRENCH CHARGE TO REPORT FULLY TO THEIR CAPITALS AND TO REPRESENTATIVES IN BRUSSELS ABOUT FRG VIEWS AND EXPRESSED HOPE THAT BOTH COUNTRIES WOULD SUPPORT FRG IN THIS MATTER.
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9. UK AMBASSADOR, IN RESTRAINED BUT POINTED COMMENT, SAID HE FELT FRG WAS ASKING "QUITE A BIT" OF ITS EC PARTNERS. WHILE FRG SEEMED PREPARED TO LET FISHERIES AGREEMENT WITH SOVIETS FAIL OVER ISSUE OF BERLIN (WHOSE RELATIONSHIP TO FISHING WAS REMOTE, TO SAY THE LEAST), UK REGARDED FISHERIES AGREEMENT AS ISSUE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE AFFECTING LIVELIHOOD OF UK FISHERMEN AND IMPORTANT SEGMENT OF UK ECONOMY. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD FRG POLITICAL CONCERNS AND WOULD REPORT THEM, BUT HE LEFT IMPRESSION THAT HIS PERSONAL ATTITUDE WAS ONE OF CONSIDERABLE RESERVE. FRENCH CHARGE DEFENDED LANGUAGE OF FRENCH PROPOSAL CONCERNING TERRITORIAL CLAUSE (REF C), BUT OTHERWISE REFRAINED FROM COMMENT. VAN WELL SAID THAT FRENCH PROPOSAL AS IT STANDS WOULD NOT BE OBJECTIONABLE, BUT FRG FEAR IS THAT SOVIETS WOULD SUCCEED IN ALTERING IT IN NEGOTIATION SO THAT IT WOULD EVENTUALLY CONSIST OF SIMPLY AN ENUMERATION OF PARTIES TO THE AGREEMENT. THIS WOULD ENABLE THE SOVIETS TO SAY THAT BERLIN WAS EXCLUDED, SINCE IT CLEARLY WAS NOT REPEAT NOT A "PARTY." VAN WELL ALSO WAS CRITICAL OF THE UK FORMULA WHICH MENTIONS "OTHER RELEVANT AGREEMENTS," SINCE THIS WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS AN OPPORTUNITY TO BRING IN THE QUADRIPARTITE AGREEMENT ON BERLIN AND TO CITE THE PROVISION THAT BERLIN IS NOT A CONSTITUENT PART OF THE FRG.

10. VAN WELL TALKS WITH GDR REPRESENTATIVE KOHL. VAN WELL MENTIONED THAT KOHL HAD COME TO SEE HIM RECENTLY FOR DISCUSSIONS ABOUT UN MATTERS, INCLUDING THE SPECIAL SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER, KOHL HAD HIGHLIGHTED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EASTERN PROPOSAL CONCERNING NON-FIRST-USE OF NUCLEAR

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WEAPONS. VAN WELL SAID THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAD FOUND THESE TALKS RATHER USEFUL; HE CHARACTERIZED THE TONE OF THIS EXCHANGE BETWEEN FRG AND GDR REPRESENTATIVES AS ONE OF "AGGRESSIVE OPENNESS."

11. IN AN ASIDE, VAN WELL REMARKED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE FRENCH WERE NOW RECONSIDERING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD PARTICIPATION IN A WORLD DISARMAMENT CONFERENCE, AND THAT FRANCE MIGHT AGREE TO SUCH PARTICIPATION PROVIDED THE US AND CHINA ALSO AGREE. THE FRENCH CHARGE MADE NO COMMENT.
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